1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Bada-
[193] gas of the Lingāyat class, and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high caste Badaga sects. Udaya was, and is the title assumed by the Maisūr Rājas, and those Badagas, by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins." The Lingāyat Badagas are commonly called Lingakutti.

[194] "Next in rank come the Hāruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the Āryas—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brāhmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must originally have been the poor Brāhman priests of the Badagas that migrated to this country (the Nīlgiris), though they have now got themselves closely mingled
[193] with the Badagas. These Hāruvas are also strict vege-
[532] tarians, and act as priests." It has been suggested that the Hāruvas (jumper) derive their name from the fire-walking ceremony, which they perform periodically. A further, and more probable suggestion has been made to me that Hāruva comes from a Canarese word meaning to beg or pray; hence one who begs or prays, and so a Brāhman. The Canarese Basava Purāna frequently uses the word in sense. "The Adhikāris are to a certain extent vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low caste Toreyas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikāri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Badagas, betakes himself to this latter very readily." The Kanakas are stated by Mr. Grigg to be the accountants, who were probably introduced when the hills were under the sway of the Tamil chiefs. This would, however, seem to be very improbable. "The Toreyas are regarded as sons and servants to the five high caste Badaga sects—to the Hāruvas especially

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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782 close at hand, the milk is taken to the temple, and given
788 to the pūjāri. With a portion of the milk some plantain fruits are made into a pulp, and given to an Udaya, who
264] throws them into a stream. The boy is treated with some respect by his family during the period when he milks the animal, and is given food first. This he must eat off a plate made of *Argyreia*, or plantain leaves.

361 Besides the hāgōttu within the house, the Badagas have, at certain places, separate dairy-houses near a temple dedicated to Heththeswāmi, of which the one at Bairaganni (or Bērganni) appears to be the most im-
• 793 portant. The dairy pūjāri is here, like the Toda palol, a celibate. In 1905, he was a young lad, whom my
123] Brāhman assistant set forth to photograph. He was, however, met at a distance from the village by a headman, who assured him that he could not take the photograph without the sanction of fifteen villages. The pūjāri is not allowed to wander freely about the village, or talk to grown-up women. He cooks his own food within the temple grounds, and wears his cloth thrown loosely over his body. Once a year, on the occasion of a festival, he is presented with new cloths and turban, which alone he may wear. He must be a strict vege-
787] tarian. A desire to marry and abandon the priesthood is believed to be conveyed in dreams, or through one inspired. Before leaving the temple service, he must train his successor in the duties, and retires with the gains acquired by the sale of the products of the herd
798] and temple offerings. The village of Bairaganni is regarded as sacred, and possesses no holagudi (menstrual hut).

782] Bishop Whitehead adds that "buffaloes are given as offerings to the temple at Bairaganni, and become the property of the pūjāri, who milks them, and uses the

793 milk for his food. All the villagers give him rice every day. He may only eat once a day, at about 3 P.M. He cooks the meal himself, and empties the rice from the cooking-pot by turning it over once. If the rice does not come out the first time, he cannot take it at all. When he wants to get married, another boy is appointed in his place. The buffaloes are handed over to his successor." The following legend in connection with Bairaganni is also recorded by Bishop Whitehead. "There is a village in the Mēkanād division of the Nīlgiris called Nundāla. A man had a daughter. He wanted to marry her to a man in the Paranganād division about a hundred years ago. She did not wish to marry him. The father insisted, but she refused again and again. At last she wished to die, and came near a tank, on the bank of which was a tree. She sat under the tree and washed, and then threw herself into the tank. One of the men of Bairaganni in the Paranganād division saw the woman in a dream. She told him that she was not a human being but a goddess, an incarnation of Parvati. The people of Nundāla built a strong bund (embankment) round the tank, and allow no woman to go on it. Only the pūjāri, and Badagas who have prepared themselves by fasting and ablution, are allowed to go on the bund to offer pūja, which is done by breaking cocoanuts, and offering rice, flowers, and fruits. The woman told the man in his dream to build a temple at Bairaganni, which is now the chief temple of Heththeswāmi."

795 Concerning the initiation of a Lingāyat Badaga into his religion, which takes place at about his thirteenth birthday, Mr. Natesa Sastri writes as follows. "The priest conducts this ceremony, and the elder relations of the family have only to arrange for the performance

of it. The priests belong to the Udaya sect. They live in their own villages, and are specially sent for, and come to the boy's village for the occasion. The ceremony is generally done to several boys of about the same age on the same day. On the day appointed, all the people in the Badaga village, where this ceremony is to take place, observe a strict fast. The cows and buffaloes are all milked very early in the morning, and not a drop of the milk thus collected is given out, or taken by even the tenderest children of the village, who may require it very badly. The Udaya priest arrives near the village between 10 A.M. and noon on the day appointed. He never goes into the village, but stops near some rivulet adjacent to it. The relations of the boy approach him with a new basket, containing five measures of uncooked rice, pulse, ghī, etc., and a quarter of a rupee—one fanam, as it is generally designated. The priest sits near the water-course, and lights a fire on the bank. Perfumes are thrown profusely into it, and this is almost the only ceremony before the fire. The boys, whose turn it is to receive the linga that day, are all directed to bathe in the river. A plantain leaf, cut into one foot square, is placed in front of the fire towards the east of it. The lingas, kept in readiness by the parents of the boys, are now received by the priest, and placed on the leaves. The boys are asked to wash them—each one the linga meant for his wearing—in water and milk. Then comes the time for the expenditure of all the collected milk of the morning. Profusely the white fluid is poured, till the whole rivulet is nothing but a stream of milk. After the lingas are thus washed, the boys give them to the priest, who places them in his left palm, and, covering them with his right, utters, with all the solemnity due to the occasion, the following

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Belli septs;
614 Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu)
612 septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Aṅgala monastery where they were *Jaṅgama* priests, provides priests
● [793] (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice
615 has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature
(582) of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36-37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

615 Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village;
582 marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted
177 with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike
615 Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kaṇakkas.[9]

615 Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons
(186) for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is
(795) obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of
(212) the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any
(252) other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be
(264) cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 (264) food (always vegetarian) only in the outer, less-sacred part of a Wodea house. Members of the Nilgiri tribes accept food from the Wodeas too, but are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the house.

KOṄGARU

These people, like Ha:ruvas, wear a single thread without *liṅga* and are vegetarian. They intermarry with Kaṇakkas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis. There are four villages of Kongaru.

HA:RUVAS

614 (162) Like the Wodeas, the one clan of Ha:ruvas numbers about four thousand people. They occupy only six villages, but this does not imply that the villages are unusually large, for very often a Ha:ruva family lives permanently in a Gauda village. Perhaps (793) half the Ha:ruvas are so distributed, as they have traditionally been priests in Gauda and Torea temples. Of the five clans making (615) up the phratry to which they belong (the only unnamed one), Ha:ruvas alone have challenged the Wodeas for primacy in the social hierarchy. The ramifications of this claim will be explored when the Badaga factions are discussed (see below, pp. 203–204).

(795) Ha:ruvas are vegetarian Shaivites but not Lingayats. For over a century they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before leaving Mysore and that they should therefore be treated as such.[11] This Brahminization, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Kherwar movement in the Santal tribe (Orans, 1965, 36–37), has been primarily an attempt to gain higher rank. Little of Ha:ruva behaviour accords with that of true Mysore Brahmins, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the observable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across the left shoulder and they have acted as temple priests to the great majority of Shaivite Badagas.[12]

(212) Despite these arguments the subculture of the Ha:ruvas is for Brahmins a most atypical one: they have no special ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread and do not consider themselves 'twice-born'; the thread itself has only one strand instead of the customary three; until this century they were totally illiterate in Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada; and they are altogether exoga-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumba:ra and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Périé, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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rational manipulation—imponderable factors like the will of God, for example—others are as close to the individual as the diseases that afflict his own body. It seems that all Badagas recognize six kinds of specialists as mediators between the individual and his cultural and biological environment. (Their importance is incidentally expressed in a proverb: "You should not stay in a village without a mediator [even till] noon.")

The first of these categories is the paramount chief (*na:ku beṭṭa gauda*) of all the Badagas, a man whose powers are now greatly diminished, but who in earlier times was ultimately responsible for mediating between the community and the outside world. This meant that he was obliged to intercede with and pay revenue to the Muslim overlords in the eighteenth century and the East India Company in the early nineteenth century. Since then he has continued to mediate between the Badagas and the Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes on issues that concern the entire community.

Secondly, each hamlet headman (*gauda*), aided by a small council of elders, is responsible for mediating between the individual and the traditional laws and customs of the community. He is thus responsible for conformity and punishment in his hamlet.

Thirdly, the priest in each village, as everywhere else in India, is responsible for mediating between man and the gods. His ability to gain their attention and win their support is crucial for the fertility of crops and cattle, and hence for the well-being of the village community.

These three types of mediators are not primarily concerned with issues of health, except incidentally when a village has to be vacated during an epidemic. But the other three mediators are all health specialists. The midwife is concerned with the yet unborn. The therapist deals with problems of the living body (human or animal). The exorcist mediates between the community and the ghosts of the dead. Each is thus relied upon for mediation in a well-defined sphere, as Diagram 5 illustrates.

This "sphere of mediation" that separates the individual Badaga from the problems of everyday life differs in its economic dimension from comparable mediation in the Western world. We normally pay our doctor or dentist for his professional services when we feel we need them; the Badaga normally does *not* pay directly for any of these six types of mediator, and indeed it is by no means always the suffering individual who makes the decision to

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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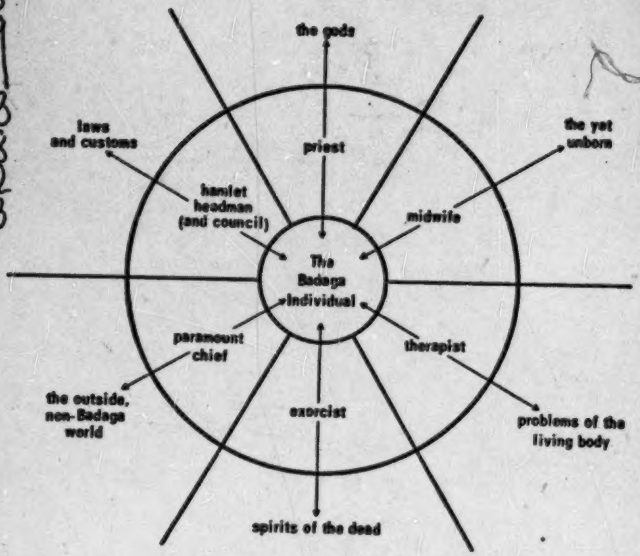

Diagram 5 : Spheres of Mediation

call in an appropriate mediator. As we shall see in the following section a token fee, travel expenses, or a small gift are the greatest material rewards that most therapists would expect as a matter of course. The prestige that comes from serving their community is in fact a more important consideration for all of the mediators; and when we recall that most therapists and all midwives are in fact women, it is understandable that they would not be practising out of a desire for material gain, since adult women are invariably married or widowed and thus are to be fully supported by their husbands or sons. In the words of the proverb, "If your lifetime is worth six [of something], taking care of [others'.] life is a hundred times more valuable." The therapists try their best, but their fellow villagers do not seem to expect miracles from them. It is worth noting that Badagas credit only the male exorcists with some

574 615 Wodeyas will not accept food from the Haruvas or any socially lower phratry, although they will eat in any other Wodeya house (Grigg 1880: 220). Other Badaga phratries accept food -- which is always vegetarian -- in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Members of any of the other Nilgiri tribes will accept vegetarian food from the Wodeyas too; but they are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the home.

615 [162] The Haruvas are a small sib living in only four hamlets. Like the Wodeyas, they probably number about 3000 people. This does not mean that Haruva hamlets are unusually large, for it is very common for a single Haruva family to live permanently in a Gauda hamlet: perhaps two thousand of the Haruvas are so distributed. This is because Haruvas customarily act as priests in the Gauda temples (Benbow 1928: 7-9). Haruvas, Kanakkas, Adikaris and Kaggusis are the four exogamous sibs which make up their phratry -- the only unnamed one, incidentally. But of the four sibs just mentioned, Haruvas alone have challenged the Wodeyas for prime position in the Badaga social hierarchy. The ramifications of their claim will receive further attention when we discuss Badaga factions.

614 The Haruvas are Śaivites, but not Lingayats. For over a century at least they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before they ever left Mysore for the Nilgiris, and that they should therefore now be treated as such (Francis 1908: 131). Little of their behavior accords with the orthodoxy of true Brahmins in the villages of the plains, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the indubitable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across one shoulder, and they do very frequently act as temple priests to the great majority of Śaivite Badagas.

968 778 beside a stream somewhere. Some very small hamlets still have nothing more like a temple than such an object; but usually they will erect at least a small shed over the image. The average-sized hamlet (of perhaps 80-100 households) has four or five built temples, as well as various minor shrines of the kind just described. 968 (621) In addition there is normally a large temple common to the whole "village". Three temples in the Nilgiris (at Melur, Bokkapur and Bargani) attract devotees from all over the District for their annual festivals (Francis 1908: 316-317, 339-340). The 794 larger temples all have Haruva or Gauda priests, and worship is done regularly (793) once a day or once a week. Smaller temples may only be used once or twice a 793 year, and then at a particular festival. While priests are appointed from among (795) the villagers, or may sometimes be hereditary roles in certain families, they officiate only in their own hamlet or "village", and there is no kind of wider church-like organization to Badaga Śaivism. For the past century, however, Badagas have 788 been making pilgrimages to various of the major South Indian temple centers, the (795) closest being Perur, near Coimbatore, Nanjangud, near Mysore, and Palni. There has thus been contact in recent times with the "great tradition" and its philosophical literature; and this has had the effect of bringing Badaga religious practices closer to those of the plainsmen. This topic will be considered later in the thesis (cf. Chapter VII).

779 Lingayatism, otherwise known as Vīraśaivism, is one of the more important and most recent schools to develop in Śaivite philosophy. The origin of the present Lingayat philosophical system, qua system, can be traced quite reliably to ca. 1160 A.D. at the Central Indian city of Kalyana, where it was formulated by a saint named Basava. After him came many followers and com-

Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibs differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead.

Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more

recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself. There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed composition, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.

The Factions

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (khaćći, or in one dialect khaʔći; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (cf. Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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578 798 hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

578 665 A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

578 877 In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

578 771 794 (793) Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk

578 771 794 (793) together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The 186 578 797 dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three -- rather than two -- parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

181 In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.

433 (648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (346) The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Masthi Mathai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (788) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring

234 778 793 the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Mathai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

234 pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified
778 butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used
(793) in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals
(237) or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and
(372) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are pollut-
(262) ing, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However,
(562) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at
(783) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive
buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed
793 sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat
(262) while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege-
(431) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors
or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

796 The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in
(788) mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their
Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also
(562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred
(293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any-
(262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the
(784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by
(793) Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season
(241) (karbokan) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive.
(842) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility
cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal
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9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

564 Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to
(195) all the Baḍagas and are regarded as such. They are priests to all
(178) the Baḍagas of the Liṅgâyat class and are strict vegetarians. They
do not intermarry with any of the other high-caste Baḍaga sects.
(193) Uḍaya was and is the title assumed by the Maisûr Râjas, and those
Baḍagas by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood
262 in their veins.

Next in rank come the Hâruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the *Âryas*—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brahmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must have been originally the poor Brâhman priests of the Baḍagas that migrated to this country, though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Baḍagas, as is
(262) always the lot of an unfortunate few in the midst of many. These
(193) Hâruvas also are strict vegetarians, and act as priests. Hâruvas originally did not intermarry with other Baḍaga sects, though now there is a good deal of laxity in the observance of this rule.

262 The Uḍayas and Hâruvas and, to a certain extent, the Adhikâris
564 also, are vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low-caste Torayas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikâri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Baḍagas, betakes himself to this latter diet very readily.

564 The Torayas are the last in the list and they are regarded as sons and servants to the five high-caste Baḍaga sects—to the Hâruvas especially. We shall as we proceed have occasion to notice the several services which a Toraya has to render to the Baḍagas. This last sect is the lowest in the scale and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high-caste Baḍagas, as long as they are sons to them. They are, as we have already
(195) remarked, flesh-eaters. The Uḍayas, Adhikâris, and Kanakas are Liṅgâyats in religion and the other three—the Hâruvas, Baḍagas and Torayas are Saivites.

121 Having thus spoken about their caste divisions we shall next turn our attention to their physical appearance, their character,
142 and their manner of life. The Baḍagas are as a rule slightly built people. The hard weather and the severe climate with which they had to struggle ten generations ago, during their first settlement, joined to the fear of having little to eat, have left well marked
(140) traces in their physique. They are labourers from their youth to their death, for, as they settled down as agriculturists, labour in the

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that originally this milking of the buffaloes must have been the main vocation of the Baḍaga. The boy then takes the vessel thus filled with milk into his house and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken upon himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk on the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly and bless him, each in his or her turn, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this the boy enters the milk-house—the *Hâgôṭu*—and places milk in his *Hoṇe* there. From this moment and all through his life he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony.

The next important rite among the Liṅgâyat sect of the Baḍagas is the wearing of the *Liṅga*, or the initiation of the boy into his religion, which takes place about the thirteenth birthday of the boy. The priest conducts this ceremony and the elder relations of the family have only to arrange for the performance of it. The priests belong to the Uḍaya sect of the Baḍagas. They live in their own villages, and are specially sent for and come up to the boy's village for the occasion. The ceremony is done generally to several Baḍaga boys of almost the same age on the same day. On the day appointed all the people in the Baḍaga village where this ceremony is to take place observe a strict fast. The cows and buffaloes are all milked very early in the morning and not a drop of the milk thus collected is given out or taken by even the tenderest children of the village who may require it very badly. The Uḍaya priest who has been invited arrives near the village between 10 and 12 A.M. on the day appointed. He never goes into the village, but stops near some rivulet adjacent to it. The relations of the boy or boys approach him with a new basket containing five measures of uncooked rice and pulse, ghee, &c., and a quarter of a rupee,—one fanam, as it is generally designated. The priest sits near the water-course and lights up a fire on the bank. Perfumes are thrown profusely into it and this is almost the only ceremony before the fire. The boys whose turn it is to receive the *Liṅga* that day are all directed to bathe in the river. A plantain leaf cut into one foot square is placed in front of the fire towards the east of it. The *Liṅgas*, kept in readiness by the parents of the boys, are now received by the priest and placed on the leaves. The boys are asked to wash them—each one the *Liṅga* meant for his wearing—in water and milk. Then comes the time for the expenditure of all the collected milk of

795 If more than one have to receive the *Linga* on the same day each of them has to undergo this ceremony. After the ceremony is [793] over the priest returns to his village with the rice, &c., and fees. [796] Every house in which a boy has received the *Linga* has to give a grand feast that day. Even the poorest Badaga must feed five other Badagas at least.

Thus closes the Linga-wearing ceremony of the Badaga boy, after which he passes through no additional ceremony. He spends his time now in milking the buffaloes, now in the fields, and is thus always preparing himself to become in the future the responsible head of a Badaga family.

121 Before we speak of the ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage of a Badaga youth and of those which are due to him at the time of and after his death, which we shall dwell upon at their proper place, we shall turn our attention to a Badaga female-child and trace her from her birth to her marriage. As soon as a female-584 child is born, some of her relations who are in a position to contract a marriage relationship bespeak the baby, and arrange for her to be married at the proper age to such and such a boy. In consideration of this they give Rs. 10 as a fee. This is everything to the girl and her price cannot afterwards be enhanced even though when she grows up she may be worth more—even as much as Rs. 200 which is the highest rate prevailing among them. Even when a girl is thus bespoken, all the forms connected with the courtship and marriage which I am about to describe are observed except the one of handing over the price of the girl, which in such a case has already been paid. This custom of contracting relationship is rare but it does occur in [684] ten out of a hundred cases. Violations of this kind of marriage are considered very ungentlemanly but they are not infrequent. The fine for such violations is after all very light, being merely the return of the Rs. 10 formerly paid for the girl when the infant was bespoken.

561 Let us now go back to the baby and suppose her not to be thus
852 bespoken. She has no rites or any observances to undergo till she becomes of a marriageable age. She then leaves her parents' house and goes to a building called the *Hola-Gudi*. This *Hola-*
881 *Gudi* is a public place reserved exclusively for women and grown up
(591) girls, and is a building that every Badaga village contains. She is presented with a new cloth by her parents and remains in the *Hola-Gudi* till the next full-moon day. All the families in the village bring to her one measure of wheat or *Korali* flour from each